September 1954

Fellowship

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MUSTE, LESTER, SAYRE

Veterans

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A History of ACLU

by Markam P. Bryant

ff We do not have freedom piecemeal. Either we have it or we have something else. That Markam Bryant entitles his capsule history of the American Civil Liberties Union *Toward Total Freedom* gives an indication of the kind of fight in which the ACLU is engaged. Readers will find familiar pacifists figuring largely in the Union's founding as well as in its continuing program. . . . We do not always reap what and where we sow, but it is a law of nature that we do not reap if we haven't sown. This is the theoretical base upon which the Britisher Wallace Hancock builds his *Pacifism for Beginners*, one of the best cases for pacifism we have read in many a day. Readers will do well to give it wide circulation. . . . We also look this month at "A Dutch Interior" as seen by a volunteer relief worker who went to Holland after the disastrous winter 1952 floods.

COVER PHOTO: Three of the world's best known, most active pacifists pose for a "retirement" portrait. Left to right they are: A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the American F.O.R.; Muriel Lester, retiring Traveling Secretary of the International F.O.R.; and John Nevin Sayre, Chairman of the International F.O.R., who will hand over the reins of office as soon as a replacement is found.

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Recurrent Crisis

The guns had barely stopped firing in Viet Nam when the world teetered breathtakingly close to the abyss again. The Chinese shot down a British airliner, American fighters sent two Chinese planes spinning into the sea, and common people throughout the earth held their breath waiting to see if this would be IT.

These recurring crises are a measure of the hopelessness of a policy that puts all its eggs in the basket of military strength. On paper it looks feasible, with bomb neatly balancing bomb and plane weighed against plane, but the reality is not all like the diagram. The reality is the shifting, turbulent masses of the restless East; it is the ruthless, probing spearpoint of Communist strategy; it is the pyramiding frustration of a militarily potent West being prodded at one point after another and having to refrain from striking back with its most effective weapons. It requires no crystal ball to see the end of such a road.

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"Two Years Is a Short Time"

The truce in Indo-China left much to be desired from the West's point of view, and there was a considerable amount of editorializing of the type referred to on the sports pages as "Monday morning quarterbacking." A number of news papers, including the *New York Times*, observed relievedly

that at least the West had succeeded in postponing the "free and supervised election" for two years, since an election held now, or even six months from now, unquestionably would go overwhelmingly for the Communists.

"Two years," the *Times* went on, "is a short time in which to undertake the job of bringing about a really substantial rise in the living standards of a relatively under-developed country, but the job must be done. We are obliged to put the hard fact of performance up against the rosy promises of a Communist Utopia if the Vietnamese can be expected to vote for freedom."*

It is as dreary a comment on the morality of the democratic nations as could easily be imagined. Two years is a short time in which to raise the living standards of the Vietnamese, and it is made even shorter by the generations in which the French failed to do much in that direction, and by the nine years since World War II when the total efforts of the West appeared to be concentrated on maintaining Viet Nam's colonial status.

The two years will offer a working experiment on the thesis that military strength gives us time to make more "constructive" anti-Communist moves. The temper of the American Congress and people, who must finance most of whatever is done, does not encourage optimism. The pacifist will continue to predict that the job of helping people who need help must be done because it is the right thing, rather than the strategic thing, to do, and that it cannot be effective while the country's major faith remains fixed on hydrogen bombs and the planes that carry them.

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Addenda

A few pertinent items have come up that ought to be added to our "Report on the Bomb" (July, 1954).

¶ The City Council of Coventry, which disbanded its civil defense organization on the grounds that the H-bomb had

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* *New York Times*, July 25, 1954.

made it a waste of time and money, has suggested a sort of non-aggression pact with the city of Stalingrad.

¶ Director Val Peterson wants to put an automatic buzzer into every bedroom in the nation to warn of the approach of enemy bombers.

¶ The aurora borealis is interfering with "defense" plans in the far north, since it "blacks out" radar and radio for weeks at a time.

¶ A Suffolk County (Long Island) civil defense drill recently developed into a more realistic picture of a bombing than such drills usually provide, when a "simulated bomb" went off with a bigger bang than had been anticipated. The CD workers, dazed by the explosion, forgot all about two low-flying jet planes that were to be part of the drill, and "hit the dirt in panic" when they came. They regrouped slowly, only to scatter again when a Civil Aid Patrol plane arrived to drop emergency supplies. In addition to demoralizing the defense workers, the bomb broke eighty windows, caused two women to faint and a man to have a heart attack, and sent ten dogs temporarily berserk.

¶ And the director of Civil Defense of Redding, California, resigned that post to go into religious work. "I've felt for some time," he said, "that the answer to problems existing in this nation at this time lies in the gospel of Jesus Christ."

Favorite Pacifist Dilemmas

"Suppose a burglar broke into your home some night. . . ."

TOWARD TOTAL FREEDOM

by Markam P. Bryant

Former editor and publisher,
Peace Digest

THE MIASMA OF thought control now spreading over the country is the greatest menace to the United States since Hitler, wrote Robert M. Hutchins in the June, 1949 *Progressive*.

That, you notice, was five years ago. Then matters got serious. Loyalty oaths and congressional inquisitions into beliefs and associations became the order of the day, fear and suspicion common. A kind of fascism with an American accent soon was known the world over as "McCarthyism."

Not long ago a New Jersey newspaper declared, "If the battle for democracy in the United States is ever lost, it will be lost, in a manner of speaking, over the dead body of the American Civil Liberties Union." The state of the Union, in the oppressive climate of 1954, is, fortunately, as alive as was the fire of freedom in the hearts of William Penn, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Roger Williams or Thomas Paine. Or as it is today, say, in the hearts of Roger Nash Baldwin, John Haynes Holmes, or Patrick Murphy Malin.

For thirty-four years the ACLU has fought—with legal brief and argument—for "the right of a man to be out of step with society." In almost all of the some 2,000 cases in which it has intervened, it has been on the side of the dissenters, the minority, the unpopular; it seldom has been called upon to assist otherwise. ("Our clients are not selected by us," ACLU founder

Roger Baldwin has explained, "but by the people who violate their rights.") As often as not, the Union has demanded the right of expression for the opinion it hates. It has, in a word, championed the rights of man set forth in the Bill of Rights, basically: *freedom of inquiry and expression* — press, speech, assembly and association and religion; *due process and fair trial;* and *equality before the law.*

Defends "Left" *and* "Right"

Over the years ACLU has demanded these rights for persons of all shades of political and religious (or non-religious) opinion, regardless of race, color, place of birth, position or income. The list is limitless—International Workers of the World, who, before and after Wilson's War for Democracy, were persecuted "not for their deeds but for their revolutionary *ideas* of industrial change"; "anarchists" Sacco and Vanzetti who "died for their opinions" after six years of desperate appeals; evolutionists like Scopes in Tennessee, in the "great debate" of 1923 between Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan; the Scottsboro boys; Tom Mooney; Jehovah's Witnesses; and conscientious objectors of every variety.

The Union has fought segregation on every front in whatever form. It fought for labor's right to organize, to strike and to picket, long before those rights were recognized by statute law. Later it demanded freedom of speech for Henry Ford when the Labor Board denied him the right freely to express his views on labor organizations. Less than a decade ago, when Nazis and Fascists and Japanese-Americans and Lindbergh were considered "subversive" and Communists our "great democratic allies," ACLU ignored the season's passions and demanded their constitutional rights. Add to the list Gerald L. K. Smith and that junior Senator from Wisconsin.

Pacifist Beginnings

Pacifists point proudly to the fact that, although ACLU is in no sense a pacifist organization, it had its beginning, in 1917, as a department of the American Union Against Militarism—a group of prominent pacifists and anti-militarists who had banded together, in 1915, to try to keep America out of the war then raging in Europe, and then to fight conscription when that curse threatened. Soon after America entered the war 33-year-old pacifist Roger Baldwin, strongly aware that freedom follows swiftly after truth as war's victim, dropped his St. Louis social work to set up the National Civil Liberties Bureau (forerunner to ACLU) with headquarters in New York and an office in Washington.

After a few months the Bureau took on an independent existence. The war demanded its efforts be devoted largely to snatching dissenters, aliens and conscientious objectors out of the jaws of the Espionage Act, which had become law in June, and to trying to wrest at least a semblance of justice and humane treatment for those unfortunate enough to be snapped up and subsequently confined at Leavenworth Penitentiary, Ft. Jay, Ft. Devins and other military prisons. There were no provisions for CO's, and many suffered actual brutality. The newly formed committee tried vigorously and, considering the times, with a remarkable degree of success, to improve

matters by publicizing conditions and by pressure on the War Department. A. J. Muste, New England representative, investigated conditions at Ft. Devins.

Baldwin's Trial

On October 30, 1918, two weeks before war's end, Roger Baldwin stood trial himself—for refusing to report for the draft. His statement to the Court was to become a classic in pacifist and civil liberty circles. He expressed "uncompromising opposition" to the principle of conscription, which he regarded as "a flat contradiction to all our cherished ideals of individual freedom, democratic liberty, and Christian teaching." He was opposed to that and all other wars; he did not "believe in the use of force as a method of achieving any end, however good." He was aware that it was "pretty nigh hopeless" to get across the views of "an out-and-out heretic like myself," and that as far as his principles were concerned, "they seem to be utterly impractical—mere moonshine." He fully realized that "they are not the views that work in the world today." But, he told the Court, he believed deeply they were the views which would "guide in the future."

"With these possible, idealistic and academic speculations a Court has nothing to do," replied the judge. What could he do, then, but impose the full penalty of the law. That meant one year in 1918; now it would mean five.

On Armistice Day the young idealist who, the judge had said, "in the history of things may turn out to be right," was whisked through the streets, amid confetti and blowing of horns, to a Newark penitentiary to begin serving "the full penalty of the law." What else could a judge do?

Three decades later, as history would have it, a letter from Tokyo from the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers read: "Roger Baldwin's crusade for civil liberties has had a profound and beneficial influence upon the course of American progress. With countless individuals finding protection in the nobility of the cause he has long espoused, he stands out as one of the architects of our cherished American way of life." The letter, dated December 30, 1949, was signed by a five-star general named Douglas MacArthur.

Baldwin behaved at Newark and was out after nine months. He wandered all over the United States, riding the rails and working at hard manual labor, for about a year.

NCLB Becomes ACLU

Then, in January, 1920, he reconstituted the Civil Liberties Bureau into its present form as the American Civil Liberties Union. The original board, mostly pacifists, included John Haynes Holmes, Jane Addams, John Nevin Sayre, Oswald Garrison Villard, L. Hollingsworth Wood, and Norman Thomas.[1] A. J. Muste was to serve on the ACLU board in the late 'twenties and early 'thirties and on its national committee, intermittently, until 1952 when his latest term expired. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick has been on the national committee for many years, Rev. Allan A. Hunter on the board of the ACLU's Southern California

[1] Norman Thomas has not considered himself a pacifist for a number of years but was at that time secretary of the six-year-old Fellowship of Reconciliation.

branch for over two decades; Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers is chairman of the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union, one of the national organization's eighteen autonomous local affiliates. In New York, Rev. John Paul Jones is chairman; George Rundquist is New York executive secretary and also field director for the national office; R. Boland Brooks heads the office in Washington state.

Roger Baldwin, Norman Thomas and John Nevin Sayre, all now 70, are still active in man's historic struggle for freedom. So is John Haynes Holmes at 75. Holmes was ACLU board chairman for ten years (1940-1950) and Baldwin, who has been a member of the FOR since 1917, served on FOR's national board for six or seven years in the 1920's.

Work with CO's

Some conscientious objectors (mostly absolutists) contend the Union "let them down" during the Second World War, or at least that it seemed to consider handling CO cases "a duty rather than a pleasure." The Union went through the legal forms but appeared to lack "aggressiveness and enthusiasm," one absolutist has said.

Actually, all CO work was handled by the semi-autonomous National Committee for Conscientious Objectors, which had ties with the Union and was headed by Ernest Angell and A. J. Muste, with a series of secretaries—all CO's—in the Union's New York and Washington offices. The real split, according to Roger Baldwin, was between CO's themselves—the absolutists refusing all service and those willing to accept some service. The Union did not feel it could sufficiently support the absolutists with any *legal claims;* the constitutional question had been settled in the previous war when the Civil Liberties Bureau took a test case up to the Supreme Court, which upheld conscription. "Of course, we 'let them down' on their claim to raising constitutional points already decided," Baldwin admits. "We got them counsel and bail, but we declined to raise futile legal questions. None of our lawyers would waste time on these." The lack of "aggressiveness" as compared with World War I, he says, was "a natural result of the far more liberal law." (That is not to say the Union has ever been fully satisfied with Selective Service provisions for CO's; but the point here is a relative matter.)

One major contribution to NCCO was the legal services of Julian N. Cornell,[2] the Committee's counsel, who did a great deal of work securing proper classifications, litigating peonage questions in Civilian Public Service camps and counseling cases involving the right to strike in these camps. ACLU attorneys (J. B. Tietz and A. L. Wirin in Los Angles, to mention two) have handled literally hundreds of CO cases involving these and other constitutional questions. As in all its multifarious cases, the ACLU has never defended pacifists' views but only their right to hold them.

Concerning conscription the ACLU has been somewhat inconsistent. For years it took the position that government conscription was a "complete denial" of what

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2 Mr. Cornell published two books on the subject, *Conscience and the State—The Legal and Administrative Problems of Conscientious Objectors* (1943-44), and *The Conscientious Objector and the Law* (1943-44), both published by the John Day Company, New York.

ought to be a "basic civil liberty." Yet in 1940 it did not oppose the draft law and has since not considered conscription in time of war or under imminent threat of war an invasion of civil liberties because of what it has termed "the grim facts of our troubled times." Just how conscription—or anything else—can be a "complete denial" of a basic civil liberty at one time and not another is not clear to some ACLU leaders and members, including this writer. The Union's policies, of course, are determined by its 35-member national board which for a number of years has been, like its 75-member committee, predominately non-pacifist. The Union does urge that everything possible be done to make clear that conscription is "an emergency measure," and has argued that man's ability to abandon conscription will be a measure of his capacity to maintain both peace and freedom. It also urges that the Selective Service Law be revised to give more generous protection to the rights of conscience; the sincerity of conscientious objection, for instance, should not be judged by the test of a religious formula so narrow as to exclude ethical or humanistic beliefs.

As for Universal Military Training, however, the ACLU remains consistent, continuing to hold that "in the light of history" it would seem far more likely to "create a spirit of militarism hostile to democratic liberties, to prepare the way psychologically for totalitarian practices, and to become accepted as a regular feature of education."

New Tyrannies

Roger Baldwin served as ACLU executive director for three turbulent decades, retiring from that position in January, 1950 when he handed freedom's torch to Quaker Patrick Murphy Malin. Since, Baldwin has devoted himself almost entirely to working for civil liberties on the international scene. It is he who represents the ACLU and the International League for the Rights of Man, of which he is chairman, on the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations. Malin, described by A. J. Muste as "a man of great charm, forceful, dynamic, a person of great vitality and drive—a great guy," took over the ACLU leadership about the time Senator Joseph R. McCarthy made his first sensational charge and initial national headline. "Neither catastrophe, nor the avoidance of catastrophe is sure," Malin was to write three years later; "the only sure thing is that we can, if we will, work to avoid catastrophe." The catastrophe which 51-year-old Patrick Murphy Malin is dedicated to help avert is human tyranny—not solely because he hates tyranny, but because he loves peace, and he knows, as certainly as does any thoughtful man, that with tyranny comes war.

Early this year, with the hysteria of fear at a peak, the Union reaffirmed its traditional opposition to *guilt by association, judgment by accusation, invasion of privacy of personal opinion and beliefs,* and the *confusion of dissent with disloyalty*—all characteristic of the totalitarian tyrannies it abhors. Plainly, as Irving Dilliard, editor of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*'s great editorial page, and labor leader Walter Reuther have lately said, the Bill of Rights could not today be adopted in the United States!

To help counteract the current crisis, the ACLU has increased its nation-wide panel of volunteer

lawyers from 800 to 1,000 in the past twelve or fifteen months. Its executive staff at national headquarters in New York has been increased about 40 percent and the clerical staff about 60 percent since early 1950. But work there—and similarly elsewhere—is almost 300 percent greater.

Garlands

For its even-handed defense of civil liberties for everybody the ACLU has won the praise of press, presidents, governors and generals, though hardly that of Hearst, the Legion, Pegler, the junior senator from Wisconsin or Fulton Lewis, Jr. "One may differ with some ACLU positions," said the New York *Times* lately, "but it is hard to find anything but good, sound, old-fashioned Americanism in its general insistence on the principles our forefathers promulgated and fought for."

In the continuing and often discouraging struggle toward total freedom the ACLU must and will go on filing briefs and providing legal defense. This is important, it is essential. Yet it was the greatest civil liberty lawyer of them all, Arthur Garfield Hays (an ACLU general counsel since 1920), who emphasized, a quarter-century ago, that ". . . Liberty is in the spirit. Unless people believe in freedom, unless it is of the atmosphere a community breathes, the rights of a citizen are not recognized. . . ." Hence, besides its legal work, this voluntary association of about 25,000 contributing members (the number is rapidly increasing) has, especially in recent years, put special emphasis on educational and legislative activities. Among present laws it is endeavoring to have ruled unconstitutional are those requiring so-called "loyalty" oaths; certain sections of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act; and the 1940 Smith Act, upheld by the Supreme Court in 1951, making *advocacy* of violent overthrow of the government a crime punishable by severe fine and imprisonment. ("Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech. . . .")

It is more than coincidental that freedom is at its lowest ebb ever and fear at its highest peak at a time when well over eighty percent of our national budget goes for so-called security, and when H-bombs are hundreds of times (or is it now thousands?) more destructive than the "toy" employed at Hiroshima! Primary cause of the Inca's self-destruction in the sixteenth century, a concerned commentator recently pointed out, was that "men loved security too well and freedom too little."

Not Easy To Be Free

One of the wisest and most compassionate of living men, Albert Einstein, has urged for these precarious times the practice of an old but challenging theory which is perhaps the last best hope to turn the tide away from tyranny toward freedom. Men, says this early exile from Nazi Germany, must refuse to cooperate in any undertaking that violates constitutional rights of the individual, notwithstanding the risks and dangers to themselves or their families. "Frankly, I see only the revolutionary way of non-cooperation in the sense of Gandhi." On the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday last March, the great scientist remarked, "You can bring flowers to

my door when the last witch hunter is silenced."

A year ago the inquisitive senator called author, lecturer and former labor editor Harvey O'Connor before his "committee." He inquired about O'Connor's politics. Writer O'Connor said the First Amendment said he didn't have to answer. The senator, sworn to uphold all the Amendments, said that was contempt. The ACLU thought the "contempt" was on the part of the senator and is taking the matter up with the Supreme Court. The ACLU considers it a wholly proper challenge under the First Amendment to decline to answer questions regarding belief, opinions or associations; Congress, after all, cannot accomplish by inquiry that which it is forbidden to do by legislation!

Writer O'Connor would seem to hold with Elmer Davis that the "first and great commandment" is, Don't let them scare you. He is content to have the issue "brought to the bar of justice and American public opinion." But, he says, "if the penalty for loyalty to the Bill of Rights is one-to-twelve months in jail, then when was the chance to fight for freedom ever offered so cheaply?" It must not be supposed, an ACLU lawyer has said, that it is easy to be free.

Don't let them scare you. . . .

"The Home of the Brave"

The first and great commandment is, Don't let them scare you. For the men who are trying to do this is to us are scared themselves. They are afraid that what they think will not stand critical examination; they are afraid that the principles on which this republic was founded and has not conducted are wrong. They will tell you that there is a hazard in the freedom of the mind, and of course there is, as in any freedom. In trying to think right you run the risk of thinking wrong. But there is no hazard at all, no uncertainty, in letting somebody else tell you what to think; that is sheer damnation. . . .

This will remain the land of the free only so long as it is the home of the brave.

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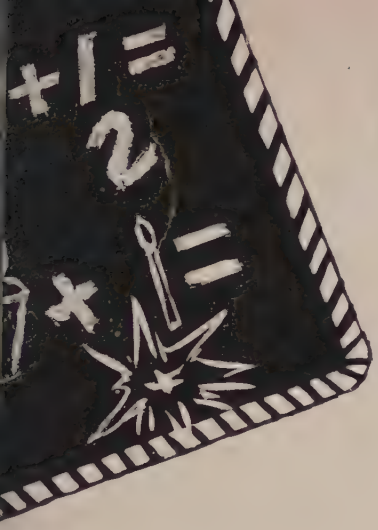


Pacifism for Beginners

by Wallace Hancock

Secretary of the Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ and of the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee in England.

PACIFISM MUST STAND or fall according to one's answers to two or three simple questions about life. These questions do not involve us in profound thought and in any case a little experience will be an adequate substitute for study. They are, moreover, questions about life upon which we shall have to make an early decision, whatever their bearing on pacifism may be.

Many pacifists are, of course, content to found their pacifism on the bedrock of scriptural authority. I think the case for pacifism built on the foundation of scriptural authority is sound—to many the only foundation. Christian pacifists will, however, be the first to realize that probably nine out of ten Christians, including some of the greatest scholars and the most faithful of saints, do not accept pacifism. That means, of course, assuming sincerity on both sides, that most Christians do not accept the pacifist's reading of the Scriptures, or at least are not prepared to accept the final conclusions he draws from the Biblical facts. The Christian pacifist will also know that most men and women in this country do not attend any place of worship, that probably nine out of ten would not

NOTE: This article used by permission. It appeared originally as a pamphlet distributed by the Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ.

call themselves Christians and accordingly could not accept the scriptural basis of pacifism, or know what it means, or indeed have any understanding of the terms we use. Of our population perhaps one in a hundred would be prepared to accept the scriptural authority for pacifism. When one looks at the figures of conscientious objectors, even this appears to be an exaggeration, as only one in every four hundred lads of eighteen has any conscientious objection to military service; and probably only half of these would make their stand on scriptural authority. These facts are very unpalatable and we must make every allowance for the apathy, thoughtlessness and materialism of the present generation; but discount these figures as we will, there remains a very considerable problem which pacifists have to consider.

No Ten Commandments

If the Christian pacifist wishes to found his pacifism on the Scriptures, he will need to be a thorough student of the Scriptures. Many Christian pacifists think it is sufficient to quote the "Ten Commandments," as saying "Thou shalt not kill." They have apparently made a very casual reading of Chapters 20 and 21 of Exodus, and fortunately Conscientious Objector's Tribunals are apparently no better informed. Careful reading of the Scriptures would disclose that there is no mention of "the ten commandments" in the Scriptures; that actually there were seventy or eighty commandments given from Sinai, most of which we should not think of putting into practice, that those commandments include the commandment to put witches to death; "thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot" in certain circumstances; besides commanding the death penalty for a number of crimes for which in these times we do not inflict such punishment. The voice from Sinai closes with the plan of aggressive war by which the Jews would enter Palestine. The Biblical student, however, will not be unduly concerned about this, because quite obviously the earlier biblical narratives show that men and women were well acquainted with the elementary laws which govern any civilized community of which "thou shalt not kill" is only part.

Fact of Creation

Therefore I should recommend the pacifist beginner to look carefully at these laws; to look first at the world in which he finds himself and having satisfied his intelligence of the fact of creation, a fact which few scientists deny and a large number postulate, to examine the laws which the creator made.

Let me remark here, that if there was a Creator there is no separate material law and spiritual law. All law is God's law. There is no natural and supernatural. All creation is natural and conforms to law. Existence is a natural miracle. The raising of Lazarus from the dead is no more wonderful than the giving of this miracle of life to every new-born babe that comes into the world. Our forefathers built their faith on the miracles revealed in the Scriptures. The Christian of tomorrow will also build his faith on the miracles revealed in the test-tube. As Dr. Joad says: "We know too much

about the universe to know anything for certain . . . the physical universe shows itself to be not only queerer than we understand it, but it may be, queerer than we can understand. Each fresh advance in human knowledge reveals a greater unknown."

Elementary Laws

Each one of us is therefore part of the supreme miracle of God's creation living in a world of God's creative mystery which those who have eyes to see and ears to hear can appreciate, even if they cannot understand. We can now examine one or two of the elementary laws of existence. The first, to quote Dr. Joad again, is "that nature is an orderly scheme in which each event is the determined result of the set of conditions that produced it"; in other words the first law of nature is "cause and effect"; that everything is related and determined by a previous cause which produced it. This was quite simply stated by Jesus when he asked, "Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?" If only the Christian Church down the ages had paid as much attention to those words as they have paid to the words which instituted the Sacraments and the Mass, the history of the world would not have been such a sorry story. Because this is the law by which we live. The first question which the pacifist beginner must ask himself is whether he really believes *just that.* That is why I said that we shall have to make an early decision on this, whatever its bearings on pacifism may be. Most of us are content to build our long term projects in life on this law. We plan on the assumption that given certain conditions certain results will follow. We assume such simple things as that if we rise at 8 a.m. we shall be able to catch the 9 a.m. 'bus or train to our work. We also make other longer term and complex assumptions such as that if we are apprenticed to a certain trade or profession we shall in a few years time become qualified craftsmen. Neither of the above assumptions will necessarily follow, but they follow so often that we feel justified in accepting the risk of "counting our chickens before they are hatched." In fact, we have only to give the matter the briefest thought to realize that life would be quite impossible unless one could be reasonably certain that given certain conditions certain results would follow.

Must Sow to Reap

This does not mean of course that we necessarily "reap what we sow." It merely means that we do not reap what we do not sow, which is something quite different. Other laws often come into play between seedtime and harvest. If I sow potatoes on the allotment I shall not necessarily reap potatoes. The soil may not be suitable or disease or pests may destroy them. All I can say is that if I do not sow potatoes I shall certainly reap nothing else and in our present state of knowledge the probabilities are that I shall have a harvest of potatoes. In fact the farmers of Lincolnshire and Mr. Everyman will have no hesitation about planting potatoes at the proper season and would be very surprised if you cast any doubt on the natural result of his planting. This same natural law applies in all the other phases of this complicated life. The same simple law

operates. In chemistry and physics, in engineering and industry, in economics and commerce men work to the rule that "life is an orderly scheme in which each event is the determined result of the set of conditions that produced it."

"The Air Is Black"

War is not a fortuitous event; it is not caused by some unknown quantity such as "original sin"; it is entirely irrational to say that "we have always had wars and we shall always have them." War is the determined result of the set of conditions that produce it. Men are totally irrational when instead of examining the various conditions which produce war and then changing them, they seek to stop war by methods which have over and over again failed to stop it. In the early years of this century the citizen might have been excused if he assumed that by increasing his armaments war with Germany could be prevented. It did not prevent it. There was less excuse when, having seen this theory refuted in the catastrophe of 1914-1918, the citizens of the 1930's again thought that to re-arm would prevent a war with Germany. But in view of these two demonstrations of the fallacy of this way of preventing war, it is quite irrational for the citizen of the 1950's to plan to prevent war by the same methods. Indeed, when you are warned that the release of the hydrogen bomb may wipe out all life on this planet, it is sheer lunacy to court a third demonstration that you cannot by means of war or preparation for war reach the peaceful end which all sane men and women desire.

By agreeing then, to the proposition that it is natural law that dogs are born of dogs and that cabbages produce cabbages and that it is a demonstrable fact that peace cannot be produced from preparation for war, one takes the first and most important step to pacifism.

The next step the beginner will take is to say that as he believes war to be irrational, he will not be so very stupid as to countenance it or himself in any way participate in it in any circumstances. If he is religious he would probably say that war is "wrong" and "sinful." That is to say the same thing in other words, because "wrong" and "sin" are irrational because they defy the laws of creation. Having decided that he will not participate in war, the beginner will find himself in considerable difficulty, because he will have to realize that there is no certain way of preventing war. The fact is that men have been planting thorns in the soil of this planet for so many years that the prospect of getting grapes from any crop that the pacifist beginner will sow may look somewhat remote. He must realize the possibility that mankind may have yet to reap the harvest that his fathers and grandfathers have sown for generations and that "the air is black with birds coming home to roost." He will not be misled by those who urge pacifism as a short term solution of the troubles of our age or who claim that violence can always be successfully resisted with nonviolence.

Whilst one realizes the apparent miracles that Gandhi performed with the technique of nonviolence in overthrowing the power of British Imperialism in India, one will remember that the normal operations of the law of cause and effect were coming into play and that it

was becoming increasingly difficult for the British to hold India. The withdrawal from India was merely a timely acknowledgement of the British Government, to which the Indian agitation gave impetus, that its imperial power was on the wane. It will be remembered that both Christ and Gandhi, the outstanding figures in nonviolent history, died martyrs' deaths during non-violent demonstrations of their faith. Nevertheless, the pacifist beginner will come to the conclusion that although it may be disappointing to feel that the road he has chosen may not bring him within sight of home, there is no purpose in continuing on a road which leads him away from it. He will realize that he cannot expect the fruits of peace in a world where most of his fellows are sowing "dragon's teeth" but he will also know that there are thousands of others, both pacifists and non-pacifists, who are striving according to their lights to maintain something approaching Christian moral standards. He will, therefore, in the words of the Basis of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, be prepared "to take the risks involved (in pacifism) in a world which does not as yet accept it." One has to be quite certain that Divine law or natural law involves a life of understanding, mutual help and affection in our human relationships. When one believes that *that* is law, one ceases to argue about the costs or consequences of taking this way: one just accepts it for granted, as one accepts any other natural law which we are satisfied in our own reasoning and experience *is* law. We begin to understand the deep logic of the "harmless and innocent people of God, called Quakers" when they told Charles II, three hundred years ago, "We utterly deny all outward wars and strife, and fighting with outward weapons for any end, or under any pretence whatever: this is our testimony to the whole world."

This is not heroics but the only course which a self-respecting man or woman can take. It is very poor morality to believe in honesty only if it is "the best policy." Ours is a poor pacifism if we follow it merely because it is the best policy. One is honest and truthful and self-sacrificing because one believes it is right, be the consequences what they may. Many sections of the Christian Church, of course, advocate this principle where divorce is involved. It is said to be breaking the laws of God if a husband or wife would dissolve their marriage. None of the consequences to either husband or wife or the tragic consequences to the children of the unhappy home can be pleaded to justify the dissolving of the unhappy union. Consequences must be set aside, says the Church, where Christian law is involved. Where war is concerned, however, the possible unpleasant consequences of following the law of love becomes to the Church of paramount importance.

Rent Body of Christ

It is obviously a sin against God that the Church which Christians claim is the "Body of Christ," should be divided. Nevertheless, organized Christianity, except some fundamentalists and Quakers, although theoretically opposed to war, has never objected to war in practice and apparently sees no wrong in killing "enemy Christians" in wartime and in the training in peace-time of every Christian lad in the Church as he grows

into manhood to kill Christians in any other country with which his nation happens to become at war.

To the Pacifist beginner this whole attitude will seem to be so untenable that he will deny war regardless of the consequences.

This denial will, of course, color the whole of one's life in every direction. It will color one's attitude to one's fellows, to one's vocation, to the State and to religion. The pacifist beginner will be told not to be obsessed by pacifism, that it is only a part of life, and Christians including Christian pacifists who ought to know better, will tell him that he must first accept certain Christian beliefs and pacifism will be a natural growth from that, and that Christianity is far more than pacifism. To which, of course, he will no doubt reply, that pacifism does not in fact develop from the acceptance of any form of religious belief, because the overwhelming majority of good Christians are anti-pacifists.

Twice Two Are Not Five

Christianity *is* more than pacifism, just as mathematics is more than the twice-times tables. But if one wants one's child to be a mathematician one will hesitate before sending the child to a kindergarten which teaches that twice two are five. If one wants to be a Christian one will require to know that the Church accepts and practices the simple facts of the obvious laws of the Creator before one will be inclined to accept from the Church the less obvious doctrines arising out of Biblical revelation.

All those who are drawn towards the pacifist conviction should also realize a fact that is not adequately recognized among convinced pacifists: that is, that the pacifist witness, if it is to be made at all, must be a continuous witness. In the Basis drawn up by the founders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation it is stated that pacifism "calls us to a life-service for the enthronement of Love in personal, social, commercial and national life." This witness cannot be less than "a life-service."

Need for Life Commitment

Young pacifists often begin their pacifism when they make a decision to reject military service. They become conscientious objectors, and a very tolerant country, when satisfied as to their sincerity, usually agrees that they shall be excused, on certain not very exacting conditions from military service; which military service very often involves the risk of life and hard active service conditions in Korea or Malaya. Nor does the State prevent them from subsequently entering the service of the State as teachers or civil servants although they have declined to lift a finger to protect the fabric of the State they wish to serve. Moreover, whilst the ordinary citizen is subject to this very exacting service for two years which is followed by a further training for three and a half years and probably a further liability for service for another five years, the conscientious objector is not liable to any service after his two years' "alternative service" has expired. For a pacifist beginner merely to accept this relatively easy alternative to national service would be escapism rather than pacifism and the self-respecting pacifist will realize that conscientious objection involves him in severe self-discipline and service extending not for two years, but

throughout life. The pacifist is challenged by the State not merely when his call-up is due; he is challenged every time he opens his morning paper and finds steps being taken by his Government which cannot produce peace. Pacifism is not the rejection of war when it comes but is the self-disciplined effort throughout all the years of peace to create a "set of conditions" in the world community from which peace will naturally follow.

Since 1938 there have been probably about 50,000 young men who have been granted exemption from military service on grounds of conscientious objection. The fact that probably less than one in ten of these young men is actively engaged in the work of the pacifist movement is a factor which is bringing disrepute upon conscientious objection and the cause of pacifism.

We Are All Involved

The pacifist beginner should understand that he cannot "contract out" of war. Conscientious objection is merely a gesture. If war comes, the pacifist will be involved with the community of which he is part. He will suffer as his fellows suffer, for the bombs and guided missiles will "rain on the just and the unjust"; he will eat the food brought to these shores through a blockade and with the taxes he pays he will supply the sinews of war for his fellows to use. All this is unavoidable. There is one justification and one justification only for pacifism and that is a "life-service for the enthronement of love" and a complete dedication to the work of creating conditions which would produce peace as a natural result.

The pacifist beginner will, no doubt, be inclined to hesitate now before he commits himself to the demands of pacifism. He will see that it means that he will never be a very comfortable member of the community in which he lives; that if he is to make any approach to consistency, pacifism will make extraordinary demands on his whole life, and that even then he may fail to stop war because he lives in a sub-Christian world in which even the Church leaders believe that his principles and ideals are not "applicable."

Some Hopeful Features

I think, however, that the position is not without a few hopeful features. The clouds of war are indeed dark but there are considerable areas of blue sky. The world may be uncomfortably poised near the precipice of world destruction, but we are not rushing headlong down the steep road to destruction. Men and women are not slow to conform to God's laws even if they are slow to accept the doctrines of the Church. The bad man does not "fly in the face of Providence," and the non-religious man knows that "the mills of God grind slow, yet they grind exceeding small." Sooner or later men and women will make their peace with the laws of the Creator and all men will accept the scientific truth "that nature is an orderly scheme in which each event is the determined result of the set of conditions which produced it."

Indeed, man has seen so clearly the wrong and devastation of war that he has to a very great extent built up a "set of conditions" which should prevent it. The religious wars which for hundreds of years were a blot on the record of

Church history have gone. It is now some hundreds years since civil wars were fought in these islands and national antagonisms here do not lead to any act more outrageous than the stealing of a large stone from Westminster Abbey. It can now be said that the conscience of the world is reaching a point when the wars of imperialism are drawing to a close and the charter of the United Nations with its many provisions for the functional co-operation between nations has probably introduced a "set of conditions" under which wars between nation states are very unlikely to occur again.

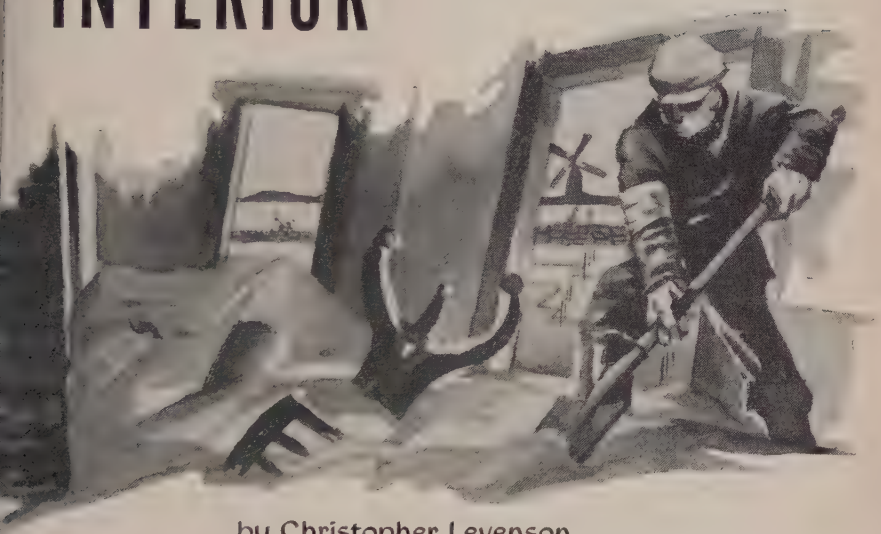
There remains a new kind of threat, a dispute and a quarrel between ideologies whose adherents are not confined within any particular national frontier. In these ideological differences ideas concerning the preservation of varying theories of freedom are probably as important as the preservation of differing ideas of economics. There is nothing insoluble in the problem and given time the problem would probably settle itself in the course of our political and economic evolution. Early settlement is so vital because the destructive powers which science has placed in the hands of man have created an imminent danger of world catastrophe.

It is far too pessimistic to say "that wars will cease when men refuse to fight." Wars will cease long before that. Certain kinds of wars have ceased and the dangers presented by the East-West conflict may probably be overcome long before all men have reached that moral stature when they will refuse to fight. The problem is to create conditions of living which will remove the occasion for wars, and that is, as we have seen, by no means beyond the powers of imperfect men and women of intelligence and goodwill. The pacifist merely leads the way into this inadequately charted country.

Is it really because a state does not persecute the Church that one can conclude that it [the state] is faithful, that it is not demonized? Could it not equally well be said that it is because the Church is unfaithful that the state does not persecute her, although it is nonetheless thoroughly demonic? Besides, whether the state is demonic or not (and we repeat that it is difficult to conceive of a state that is not demonic), why should it persecute the Church, when the latter grants all its wishes, and hastens to satisfy all its caprices, like a mistress who fears to lose the favours of the rich lover to whom she looks for protection?

Jean Lasserre in **War and the Gospel**

"A DUTCH INTERIOR"



by Christopher Levenson

ALL THAT WE HAD BEEN ABLE to unearth in two days searching lay heaped on the mantlepiece—a handful of grubby coins, a few articles of hardware, and some gaudy, tasteless vases. The owner was looking for a "krullen," part of the traditional headdress of the old ladies of Zeeland, that had belonged to his aunt.

We had come under the auspices of the Coordination Committee for Relief Work, to help in the villages that were slowly rising out of the floods. As we shovelled that black mud and sifted the debris of furniture, he told us again the now familiar story of the night of the flood, how his 76-year-old aunt had floated away from the drowned house on a raft, how everything was lost, and how she had drifted for a day without food or drink. But most of the villagers have not yet come back and live in temporary houses a few miles away. One such house bears the poignant name of "Forced Landing," but probably it is not the first time, for most of this land was flooded by the retreating German Army in 1944. Now the people are returning. A few days before Christmas (1953) the first car came into our village since January of last year, now we have a continuous traffic of bulldozers and tractors.

But "our village," Ouwerkerk, was luckier than many, for, except for a few hours on the day of the

flood itself, the "Kerk-ring," that is the traditional centre of most Dutch villages, was not under water, and right through the summer retained an appearance of rural calm in strange contrast to the landscapes of flood and wreckage only a hundred yards away. Only the white crosses painted on the doors show that a death had occurred within.

I remember well coming by motor boat in June to visit this village and trampling over floors thick in a baroque and prodigal confusion of vegetables, books, broken furniture—everything, in fact, that went to make a home. Now those houses that still stand are made clean, while those that are ruined are searched for valuables. Instead of the open sea, the dyke is closed and cranes, lorries, pumps work through the night under the glare of arc-lamps. Drinking water had to come by boat in 1000-litre tanks, but now that the road out to the rest of the island is back to normal it must come by lorry. Except for the installation of two policemen (originally to keep out looters and to pick up floating pieces of wood that if left would hammer with each tide at the crumbling walls) the village "set-up" remained much the same. Two cafes and one grocer's shop survived the evacuation and continued with a small trade to the dyke-workers and the 80-strong population. The Burgomaster and his wife lived temporarily in part of the beautiful modern school that was built two years ago, and had been, in the absence of any pupils, unused. After Christmas the children came back in dozens and the diagram of the closing of the gap that had occupied the whole of one blackboard for three months was replaced by the stock-in-trade of the normal curriculum.

The carpenters sorted the good wood from the huge stack of driftwood that stands somewhere near every flooded village. The smith repairs the tractors and the motor-pumps. Otherwise there was little enough for them to do. People seemed glad to invite us in for coffee just for the sake of a talk, or to take their minds off the view outside the window.

As the water receded into the 85-foot deep creek the land emerged grey and featureless, its smooth outlines broken only by the scraggy skeletons of trees, or the ruin of a rusted wheel. Even the tallest trees are not in hibernation but have been murdered by the salt earth. Mussels and sea-pox cluster on the sides of broken walls and the only green comes not from grass but from sea-weed. Dark stinking cellars are studded with

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In this article a member of the Friends Ambulance Unit (FAU) International Service gives personal impressions of a C.C.H. workcamp he participated in. C.C.H. stands for the Coordination Committee for Relief Work, which came into existence in Holland in February of 1953 so that flood relief work might be more effective. Volunteers for the workcamps came from nearly thirty countries. Quite a few of the English and Americans taking part were CO's working out their alternative service, a concession which the Dutch government would not grant to Dutch CO's.

arfish and every stone upturned sturbs a nest of crabs. Each orning the dull light on the des-t sand appears like frost. Though e walls of sand bags that held out e tides in summer are now down, erpetual winter grips the be-eged land. Normal harvests are least six years off, and many eople say crops will not grow gain in this polder. But Holland ould never allow Zeeland to be-me a desert, so either acres of nd must be removed or acres of ood earth imported from other arts of Holland and spread over ne whole surface of the land.

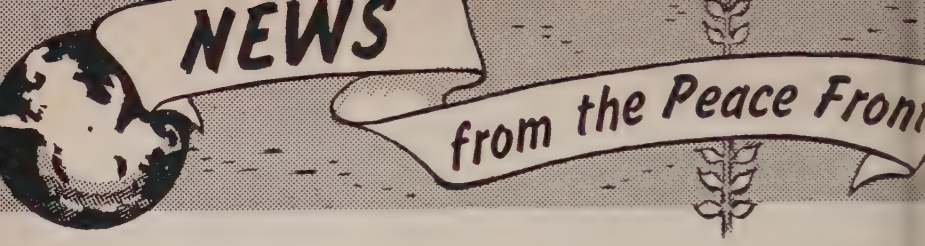
But for the time being that is ot considered. The job in hand is finish the dykes against any rther onslaught, and every min-te of the week cranes transport nd mould the sand into dykes. ven during the bitterest winds nat whipped the surface into run-ing snakes of sand and blocked ne road with drifts, the work went n, almost without a break. Every an in the village has his job—excavating irrigation-ditches or working on the dykes. There is no time to waste. The caissons, earlier sections of Britain's "Mulberry Harbour" give a sharp concrete outline to what was once the big-gest gap in the flooded areas.

The agricultural machinery that was collected into the "Kerk-ring" during the first days of the flood is dosed with creosote, the cowstalls are scoured, the Burgomaster vis-its our work-camp in the Pastorie to show us his scrapbook of press photos and cuttings. The camp forms a natural rendezvous and though most of the villagers have not travelled beyond their own is-land, they have welcomed people from many countries and worked with them in scraping off the rotted wallpaper or scrubbing the floors of their mutilated homes. And we in our turn have gained an unusually intimate picture of Dutch life and learnt unforgettably that more than four walls and a roof are needed to make a home.

—from C.C.H. Newsletter

When we talk of the charity of Christ today, we talk about institutions, about organizations, about highly-selected groups of people who give themselves to works of charity. We do not think about something that should permeate not only the lives of the faithful, but of all mankind, a brotherhood of charity, a Christian solidarity based on charity. . . . I want to keep looking around among the simple people in the less developed countries for a new spirit and a new hope. I see in these countries examples of self-help and of simple neighborly charity that is a constant challenge to those of us who have given our lives to specialties.

Msgr. John O'Grady addressing Catholic Daughters of America



Muste in Europe on Third Camp Mission

At the time of this writing, the Fellowship's Secretary Emeritus, A. J. Muste, is making important Third Camp contacts in England, France, Germany and the Netherlands via a five-week visit packed with private and public engagements. A busy week in London, after his take-off on June 21, meeting with pacifists, Quakers, Gandhians, labor unionists and persons interested in colonial struggles, allowed for little time to confer with officials of the Peace Pledge Union, which in June officially endorsed the Third Camp position.

That position, stated briefly for persons totally new to it, seeks the creation, or rather the bringing into world significance of a movement of peoples determined to support neither the Soviet nor the American power blocs, to offer a dynamic alternative in opposition to the present war policies and to struggle for social and economic justice, national freedom and opposition to all forms of totalitarianism. The impetus for this movement has come from American Peacemakers, nonviolent revolutionaries seeking to implement a social philosophy akin to that of Mahatma Gandhi.

By the time he returns to New York on August 4, A. J. will have been ten days in Germany, in France and England twice, and in his native Holland but briefly. There he will have delivered a radio address in Dutch—eight and a half minutes worth of news analysis, Third Camp plugging and a personal "message for Evanston." In Germany, if all went as planned, he will have had a chance to speak with some pacifists from East Berlin and some refugees in Munich in an attempt to get from them a clearer idea of what is happening East of the Iron Curtain. He will also have been the guest of Dr. Martin Niemöller, who noted recently that war resistance is "small but growing" in Germany. From July 26-30 he will have attended the International F.O.R. Council meeting in London and on July 31st he will have addressed the War Resisters' International triennial conference in Paris, which, unsurprisingly, has Third Camp as its theme.

We have been able to sketch only the highlights of A. J.'s trip and the fairly obvious ones at that. The important thing is that everywhere he is meeting people—neutralists, Christian pacifists, non-communist Marxists, socialists, as well as the groups mentioned above in London—who feel as he does that the time has come for the world to practice war no more.

New Yorkers will hear A. J.'s own account of his trip at a Peacemaker-sponsored public meeting on August 9. Later, it is fairly certain that A. J. will give further news of Third Camp interest in Europe through the written word.

nd Puerto Rican Conspiracy" Trial Begins

This is being written just as the econd trial of Puerto Rican Nationalists is due to begin in New ork City. What has happened ince the March 1 shooting of five ongressmen by four Nationalists s indicated by the following calndar:

March 1: Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, A. Figueros Cordere, and I. Flores Rodriguez arrested for shooting in Washington.

March 2: FBI and Secret Service begin nationwide roundup of Puerto Rican Nationalists.

March 5: Four defense lawyers assigned by District of Columbia Federal Court to defend Nationalists.

March 6: Six Nationalists arrested in San Juan. Here, Committee for Justice to Puerto Ricans formed, including such prominent persons as Waldo Frank, Norman Mailer, Milton Mayer, Roy Kepler, Sidney Lens and A. J. Muste. Purpose of the committee: to disseminate information about Puerto Rican conditions and to insure basic civil liberties are not denied P.R. defendants. Its address: Room 201, 271 W. 125th Street, N. Y. 27.

March 8: Federal Grand Jury in New York begins questioning Nationalists, Independentistas and friends to determine whether Title 18 Sec. 371 of United States Constitution has been violated (Conspiracy to commit an offense against U.S.).

March 10: Juan Francisco Ortiz Medina, chairman of Nationalist junta in NYC, sentenced to six months for contempt of court for refusal to inform on Party colleagues.

March 18: On appeal of Ortiz Medina's conviction Judge Learned Hand refuses to admit defendant on bail on U.S. Attorney's charge Nationalists plan outbreak on March 21, anniversary of infamous Ponce Cathedral massacre.

April 21: Judge Noonan acquits Carmen Torresola in Manhattan Federal Court of charge of contempt.

April 22: Committee for Justice protests to U.S. Attorney on continual questioning of Attorney Conrad Lynn by Grand Jury as attempt to intimidate P.R. counsel.

May 25: 11 Nationalists arrested in New York and Washington, 5 in Chicago and 1 in Puerto Rico, all charged under one indictment with seditious conspiracy, Title 18 Sec. 2384, U.S.C.

June 2: Washington trial begins.

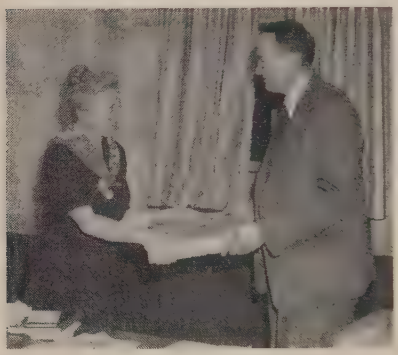
July 17: Three defendants found guilty of assault with intent to kill and assault with dangerous weapon. Lolita found guilty of last charge, acquitted on first.

July 8: Washington defendants sentenced: 25-75 years for the three men, 16 2/3-50 years for Lolita.

July 13: Appointment of counsel and arraignment of balance of defendants in New York.

July 27: Motion to dismiss indictment, for severance of trials and for bill of particulars by Lynn denied by Judge Skelly Wright. (The defendants are not charged with any specific acts of conspiracy, but with the broad crime of "seditious conspiracy" over the past four years.) August 2nd fixed for trial. Committee for Justice announces probable de-

fense cost of $50,000. Also, many Puerto Ricans and friends have lost their jobs because of FBI pressure and they and their families need financial support.



Gift. MURIEL LESTER, *author, social worker and world traveler for peace, receives a new briefcase from Prof.* DOUGLAS V. STEERE, *chairman of the North American IFOR committee. Occasion was luncheon marking Miss Lester's retirement after 21 years as traveling secretary for the International FOR.*

Houser Makes Observations on West African Visit

At the time of writing, we have just received word from Project Secretary George Houser of a month and a half visit in West Africa—specifically the countries French West Africa, Liberia, Gold Coast and Nigeria. He was surprised to find in Dakar, the capital of the French colony, no system of racial segregation such as we know here in the States, and yet so little mixing of the races in public places. He concludes that what separates the Africans from the Europeans are economic and educational-cultural differences. He also notes lack of pressure for independence from French rule, but at the same time a feeling that independence will come. George feels that self-government in nearby Liberia and the Gold Coast will definitely affect independence aspirations in the French territory.

Of the common thought that Liberia is nothing more than an American colony, George says "not so" although agreeing that the American influence is strong: American money, English language, a constitution patterned after ours, a Firestone rubber monopoly. Liberia is one of the five independent countries in Africa, is poor, but in the process of encouraging growth.

In the Gold Coast, George spoke with American-educated Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister. When asked what he thought the role of an independent Gold Coast should be *vis a vis* the power struggle between the U.S. and Russia, Dr. Nkrumah unhesitatingly responded that it should be similar to that of India, that is, not tied to either side. This, writes George, "would be backed by most of the people here." George arrived in Accra on June 15, polling day for the first All-African Legislative Assembly, in which contest Nkrumah's Convention People's Party won 71 out of 104 possible seats. George was overwhelmingly impressed with the organization of the CPP, a political party only five years old.

Brotherhood Economics First in Puget Sound

Pacifist economics drew prime interest at the annual Puget Sound F.O.R. conference at Quaker Cove

ear Anacortes, Washington, re-ently. Main speaker, Seattle Meth-dist Rev. George Poor, described "The Goal of Life" as like that de-cribed in Acts 2:44-47 (the Chris-ian communal society) and "the neans: oneness of purse as well as urpose." Producer and consumer ooperatives, "organized not to ave money primarily, but to over-ome the competitive, profit mo-ive, is a step in the direction of he goal," he added. The other fea-ured speaker at the conference was Doris Greaves from the Para-guayan Bruderhof.

Rising interest in the Bruderhof nd other intentional communities among F.O.R. members and friends n the area during the past year was responsible for the economic emphasis of the conference. Sev-eral F.O.R. families there (six from the Seattle area) announced heir intention of joining the Para-guayan colony this year. Rev. Poor and others proposed forming com-munities in Washington.

Mira Behn to Organize Rural Uplift Work

According to the July issue of *The African and Colonial World,* Mira Behn (Miss Madelaine Slade) has agreed to organize rural up-ift work on Gandhian lines in Kashmir State, India, at the invi-ation of that state's government.

Mira Behn is the daughter of a British admiral. Renouncing years ago a life of luxury, she took a vow of poverty and joined Gandhi n his ashram in India. She has been doing constructive work among the villagers ever since, most recently in the Himalayas, where her base has been the Gopal Ashram in Tehri-Garhwal which she will now close down. Of all Gandhi's disciples, Mira Behn, al-most alone, has serious misgivings about the Bhoodan movement. In a letter to A. J. Muste earlier this year she wrote: "It is a strange de-velopment, which has, to my mind, seriously crippled Bapu's workers, since they have practically all, at the cost of every other activity, thrown themselves into this move-ment, the atmosphere of which is becoming less and less akin to Bapu's ways."

For months now, Mira Behn has been negotiating (her word, "struggling") with the Indian gov-ernment over a "simplified, decen-tralized Project, somewhat ap-proximating Bapu's ideals." It was due mainly to her that the Gov-ernment agreed to sanction a grant of 900,000 rupees for Bhillingana Project—the only village uplift project in India to be carried out on Gandhian lines.

CO Charges Brutality in Military Prison

Russell LaRose, a conscientious objector from Wisconsin, has charged that he was mistreated and beaten while confined in an Army prison. On June 18, the Army was ordered to release him, not because of the alleged beating, but on the ground that Selective Serv-ice had not afforded him an appeal to which he was legally entitled.

After being refused appeal on a classification of 1-A-O, LaRose found himself in basic training at Fort Sill, an artillery center, where the training went against his con-science. Appeals to the chaplain and others resulted in his transfer

to Camp Pickett, Virginia, the training center for the Medical Corps. Military requirements there were so unpalatable to him, though, that he went AWOL. Nine months later, the F.B.I. arrested him in San Francisco and turned him over to the Army as a deserter.

It was while confined in the stockade at the Presidio of San Francisco that he was beaten, LaRose charges. The punishment, he says, was administered to induce him to engage in forced labor such as prisoners in the stockade are commonly required to perform. The San Francisco court, presided over by Federal Judge George B. Harris, while granting LaRose a writ of *habeas corpus* but not on the strength of his charges, did agree that "there is credible evidence that [LaRose] was wantonly beaten while confined."

The June 6 issue of the Duluth, Minn. *News Tribune* carried a feature article, with photos, of the conscientious objecting Doty brothers, Sid, Paul, Orin and Joel. The article, entitled "Draft Evaders," opened with the sentence: "Out on bail pending appeal of their second conviction for avoiding the draft, the four Doty brothers last week viewed their fate calmly. . . ." The article reflects little sensitiveness to the distinction between draft dodging and conscientious objection, but is not rabidly critical.

In the last few years, membership in the Norwegian section of the War Resisters' International has increased from 100 to 1,450. A governmental committee has been appointed to consider revisions in the law of 1937 regarding alternative service for co's. According to the London office of W.R.I., it is believed that in Sweden there are about 30,000 conscientious objectors, although only about 10 percent belong to any peace society and fewer than 5 percent belong to the Swedish W.R.I.

UNICEF Work May Be Hindered by U. S.

In Mid-July, it appears as if the work of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund may be severely handicapped in the next year by a condition that the United States is proposing on its contribution. The adoption of this condition by the Congress would mean that UNICEF would receive from the United States approximately $3,000,000 less than the total recommended ($13,500,000). This, coupled, with the amounts which governments spend locally to match UNICEF help means that children would be denied more than $6,000,000 in health and nutritional services in the 18-month period, January 1, 1953 to June 30, 1955.

The condition that might bring about such a catastrophe appears innocent enough. It says the U.S. contribution may not exceed 60 percent of the total paid to UNICEF by all governments. As a practical matter, however, no credit will be given in this connection any longer for money that governments spend in developing UNICEF projects within their own borders. This sum spent internally has been by far the largest expenditure made for the children.

The Congress is considering the UNICEF appropriation now, with the House recommending a contribution of $12,000,000 instead of the full $13,500,000 suggested by

e Executive Branch. The United tates Committee for UNICEF is ampaigning for the larger con- ibution as well as for removal of ie restrictive 60 percent condition.

CPFA Directors Protest Proposed FCC Censorship

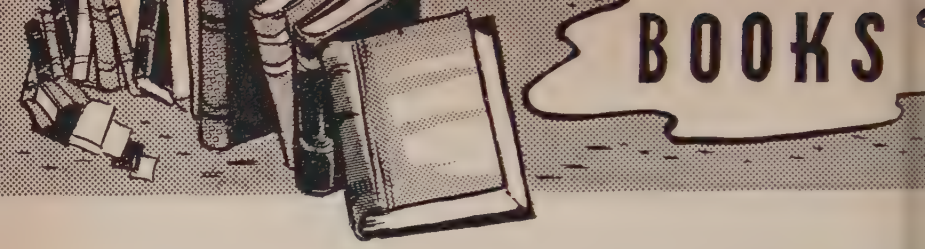
The committee of directors of ne Pacifica Foundation, a non- rofit organization operating radio tations KPFA and KPFB in Cali- ornia, has filed a brief in protest gainst a newly-proposed ruling by he Federal Communications Com- nission.

The proposal would bar com- nercial and amateur radio opera- ors from holding licenses if they re members of the Communist Party or of any organization re- quired to register as a Communist ront under the McCarran Act, or f any organization which advo- ates violent overthrow of the government. Also, licensees must ave "good moral character"; a erson who has been a member of ny of the above-mentioned or- ganization would not qualify as of ood moral character, nor would person who has been convicted of felony. It is further proposed that ome sort of loyalty oath be a re- uirement for employment.

The KPFA committee of direc- ors (two of the five members are OR members) calls this proposed uling "an encroachment of the ederal Government on the free- lom of the individual and the free- lom of the press" and accuses FCC f failing to show that there is a lear and present danger to the ecurity of the country from the xercise of the First Amendment reedoms by radio operators and stations. It adds: "If good moral character is in question because of the advocacy of force and violence in overthrowing the government, then Thomas Jefferson, George Washington and Alexander Hamilton were men of bad moral character."

The American Civil Liberties Union is asking FCC for a public hearing on this matter. Meanwhile, "Pacifica Foundation, the owner and operator of stations KPFA and KPFB stands by its right to select and employ engineers and operators of its own choice, based solely on their professional competence, and not subject to discriminatory and irrelevant tests of opinion."

Happy. *Light-hearted appearance of F.O.R. national and regional staff members belies gloomy outlook for world peace. Picture was taken during staff meetings in May. Front row, left to right:* GLENN E. SMILEY, *national field secretary working in Great Lakes Region;* ORVAL ETTER, *Far West secretary;* JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, *chairman, International F.O.R.;* ALFRED HASSLER, *editor,* Fellowship; CHARLES WALKER, *Middle Atlantic secretary;* JOHN SWOMLEY, *national secretary. Back row:* ALBERT WATSON, *Midwest secretary;* ABRAM GOLDSTEIN, *national office secretary;* RICHARD HATHAWAY, *New England secretary;* A. J. MUSTE, *national secretary emeritus.*



Greed in High Places

Pentagon Politics, by William H. Neblett. Pageant Press, N. Y., 1953. 131 pp., $3.

"There is only one really important thing facing the country today—military control of the nation." This is the thesis of *Pentagon Politics,* which tells the story of the conquest of the nation by its military leaders.

William Neblett is a Colonel in the Air Force Reserve who, prior to his retirement in 1949, had served thirty-four years with the military forces. During World War II he was an air base commander, a member of General MacArthur's staff in the Southwest Pacific and in the Pentagon. He was President of the Reserve Officers' Association of the United States during 1947-48, is a member of the American Legion and V. F. W.

Out of this background he has written an amazing book about the intrigue and greed for power which characterize the professional military leadership of this country. "National politics and business," he asserts, "are both firmly in the grip of the professional military caste." Military control of the nation, he indicates, was engineered by a careful strategy. Legally it was accomplished in the same legislation which achieved unification of the armed forces. Neblett writes: "Generals and admirals have fought bitterly among themselves over unification, but tha fight was a mere sham battle. O their main objective to turn th country into an armed camp wit themselves at the controls, the were in full agreement. They hav succeeded beyond their fonde hopes."

Neblett is an opponent of th present type of conscription an advocates something comparab to the Swiss system, which, course, has no chance of passag here. In comment on conscriptio he wrote: "To gain its conscri army, the Pentagon generated the public's mind fear of an attac by the Russian Army and possib destruction of our government b Communist revolution here home. The fear is shadowy and in substantial."

It is only fair to add that *Pento gon Politics* is not a complete objective book. Anyone who know of the cliques and rivalry in th Pentagon can guess that the would be strong feeling about var ous top generals and their politic sponsors. Neblett, for exampl feels strongly about Frankli Roosevelt and General Georg Marshall. But despite his preju dices, the book is a reliable inte pretation of the men and even which make up this story of mil tary efforts to control the natio Everyone opposing conscription an militarism will find this a valu able ally.

—JOHN SWOMLEY

Radical Magazine Launched

Dissent, a Quarterly of Socialist Opinion. Vol. 1, No. 1 of a new quarterly. 112 pp., $.60.

The term "socialist" is not used by the publishers of this new periodical in a party sense. "The editors and supporters of *Dissent* are independent radicals" who share the ethos and faith in humanity that for more than a hundred years have made men 'socialists'" and who want "to discuss freely and honestly what in the socialist tradition remains alive and what needs to be discarded or modified."

Some of the contributing editors are probably better known to FELLOWSHIP readers than the active Editorial Board. The former include Erich Fromm, the well known psychologist; Norman Mailer, the novelist; George Woodcock, the English literary critic and libertarian; and the undersigned. Among the editors are Lewis Coser of the Brandeis University faculty whom some FELLOWSHIP readers used to know as "Lewis Clair" who wrote for Dwight Macdonald's *Politics;* Irving Howe, increasingly well known literary critic and also now on the Brandeis faculty; and Meyer Shapiro of Columbia.

Among the outstanding contributions to a uniformly brilliant first number are Howe's article on "Stevenson and the Intellectuals"; C. Wright Mills' (of the Columbia sociology department) on "The Conservative Mood ("in the material prosperity of post-war America . . . crackpot realism has triumphed in practical affairs . . . an absence of mind in politics"); "The Uprising of June 17," an article on the June events in Germany by H. Brand who shows inside knowledge of developments behind the Iron Curtain; Lewis Coser's "Government by Secrecy" ("It is a measure of the decay of liberal politics that the simple demand for information has become a revolutionary demand"); and one of the best analyses, if not the best, of whether, in what sense, and to what extent socialism obtains in England in Stanley Plastrik's "British Labor in Retrospect."

The issue is by any standard worth the sixty cents it costs to anyone interested in contemporary affairs, whether a beginning student or one far advanced. Annual subscription is $2.00, students $1.50, from Dissent Publishing Association, 509 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York.

—A. J. MUSTE

IN BRIEF

Two Out of Three, the Problem of World Poverty, Harold Wilson. National Peace Council, London, 1953. 11 pp., 10c.

A Member of Parliament describes what a war on the world's wants would entail. He considers the "war on want" not only for its own sake, but also as a means of finding work for redundant war plants and workers and of fighting communism.

The Making of a Moron, by Niall Brennan. Sheed and Ward, New York, 1953. 189 pp., $2.50.

The author happened on the report of a wartime experiment in the use of morons in short-handed industry in Australia. The astonishing results of the experiment led him to look further, which led to the discovery of similiar experi-

ments in the United States. What the experiments had turned up, briefly, was that in many modern industries the morons did quite as good work, and with less "difficulties" and "unrest" than normal workers. Mr. Brennan's subsequent personal exploration of the effect of modern industrial society on the human personality makes fascinating, if somewhat depressing, reading.

Report on the War in Indo-China, Nicholas Read-Collins. Union of Democratic Control, London, 22 pp., 10c.

A detailed and thoughtful study of the "ruinous and wicked war" now attracting world attention. The author, formerly chief of the British Division of General MacArthur's G.H.Q. in Tokyo, shows how "France in Indo-China is like a man who, riding on the back of a tiger, cannot dismount for fear of being eaten."

Solution in Indochina? American Friends Service Committee, June 1954, 16 pp., 10c.

Probably no more simple yet complete statement of the background of the Indochina conflict is currently in circulation. The pamphlet answers such questions as: Who is Ho Chi Minh? Is Indochina important? Is the Indochina war popular in France?

A Door to the Present, James D. Calderwood and Laurence De Rycke. Monograph No. 1, International Development Placement Association, May 1954, 40 pp., 35c.

A complete, non-technical discussion of technical assistance programs, UN and unilateral both. The authors succeed well in doing what they set out to: defining the nature and scope of the problem of underdeveloped areas; showing why this problem is particularly significant at this time; outlining the current development programs; finally, analyzing some of the principal issues that must be faced with world conditions as they are now and as they might be in the not-too-distant future.

Puerto Rican Neighbor, Roy Schuckman. Pendle Hill Pamphlet No. 75, 32 pp., 35c.

"In a world of hate," writes Roy Schuckman in his introduction "we need a concerned people, who can help to alleviate the bitterness and ignorance so prevalent all around us." This compelling narrative of *barrio* (village) life in Puerto Rico tells of a despair and hope common to people in an underprivileged country and gives our concern a solid factual base.

The Stranger at Our Gate—America's Immigration Policy, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 202, 28 pp., 25c.

Senator Humphrey feels that a basic rethinking of our present inflexible and restrictive immigration policies is necessary to bring our immigration practices into accord with our democratic aspirations. He criticizes the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 specifically, but also breaks down the five myths of immigration and suggests what the provisions of a "democratic" immigration bill would be.

The Mumford Letter

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

From author Lewis Mumford's letter to the *New York Times* in March it seems that Mr. Mumford believes that the present policy of our nation, relying on armed might and war, is heading the nation into World War III, which will mean the destruction of civilization, possibly the annihilation of all life on our planet.

Hence Mr. Mumford advocates the renunciation of war as a national policy, the result of which might be any number of things, the worst of which would be the dominance of Communist totalitarianism. He prefers Communist rule to civilization's destruction or worse.

I have submitted this line of reasoning to several individuals and groups. Almost without exception they agree that it is sound thinking. I believe that the mass of American people would agree with such reasoning. Surely it is high time for those who do agree to let themselves be heard from in no uncertain terms.

F. J. WALDROP
Weston, W. Virginia

More Active Pacifist Program

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It would seem to me that pacifists, in order to impress upon the public that they are practical realists and not utopians should step up their activity, improve their techniques, enlarge their program. . . . It would not do for the 10,000 conscientious objectors we could win in the coming period to go to public service camps, hospitals, and jails, and leave in the more obvious view of society what might become 10 million unemployed workers—a mass whose disillusion, anger, and material needs could easily pour itself into another war.

Secondly, pacifists should form an international movement, sow the seeds for an underground pacifist movement in Russia too. This will break down the fear that stops most people from supporting pacifism.

Thirdly, each local organization of pacifists should become more self-reliant, more active.

Fourthly, we must first increase our number by finding the potential pacifist who hasn't heard of us.

Fifthly, we should arrange to sponsor joint meetings with other pacifist groups—the American Friends Service Committee, Peacemakers, Unitarian Pacifist Fellowship, the Catholic Worker group, the War Resisters League.

ROBERT W. BATES
Detroit, Michigan

Appeal for Doty Brothers

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The State Executive Committee of the Minnesota FOR has set up the Doty Appeal Committee to raise funds for the appeal of the four Doty brothers of Brune, Minnesota from their conviction for failure to report for induction. Previously all four have

served prison terms for failure to register for the draft.

They are appealing their case to the Court of Appeals in order to challenge the right of a draft board to order for induction persons who have never registered with the board and who have served their time for non-registration.

ARTHUR STERNBERG, *Treas.*
1563 Fairmount Avenue,
St. Paul 5, Minn.

How a Canadian Would Use Tax Money

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I herewith submit to your attention a proposal of spending the tax money of the nation for better purpose than military preparations. Instead of drafting the young people to the armed forces, the purpose of which becomes more and more doubtful every year in view of the latest mass destruction means, enforce a law that every boy leaving school between 18 and 30 years of age has to stay as a free civilian in a foreign country in a general exchange program for at least one year. Passage free—to be paid by the home government.

The youth is supposed to live and work among the foreign people, learn its language, customs and way of living. Every girl intending to enter into a public profession has to take the service year too. In exchange young men and women from other countries are to be received in this country and given opportunity to see and learn as much as possible of this country.

This proposal serves the following ideas: mutual understanding of different nations, of their customs, problems and way of living. Widening of the mental horizon of the individual, gaining tolerance of other races and religions, creeds and systems by learning to live and work with them. The abolishment of military service armament and research of mass-destruction means would promote the idea of non-violence, save the taxpayer tremendous amounts of money which can be allotted to peaceful purposes, making a nation more Christian like.

U. KUEKENTHAL
Vancouver, B. C

ADVERTISEMENTS

F.O.R. OFFICE manager wishes part time work in New York area. CPA (Illinois). Former U.S. internal revenue agent. Can undertake write-ups, per diem work, system installations. Abe Goldstein, 1127 Leland Avenue, Bronx 72 UNderhill 3-6125, or c/o F.O.R.

INLAY PEACE PUZZLE for children. 1 pieces; 6 colors; 8¾" x 11¾". Together with peace folder for adults. $2. Order from Thimble Anne, 423 N. Milton Ave. Whittier, Calif.

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GOING

UP!

Remember the 40th Year membership drive that started in March? Don't look now, but the results are showing!

Since March the number of new members has been almost double that of the same months last year. 149 persons joined the FOR in March, April, May and June 1953; this year the figure was 332.

The Fall offers a wonderful opportunity for the people who haven't done much on the drive so far, especially with the 40th Anniversary dinners coming up. Write today for a Membership Kit (50¢) and help keep the F.O.R.— **going up!**

Fellowship of Reconciliation

21 Audubon Avenue New York 32, N. Y.

What is a Christmas card?

(Four Definitions)

1. *A pleasant way of saying hello to friends one has not seen all year.*

2. *An expensive convention that has become generally less meaningful every year*

3. *An unmitigated nuisance that illustrates the commercialization of Christmas at its worst; perpetuated by the expectations of friends and relatives.*

4. *A significant means of combining a friendly greeting with a genuine insight into the real meaning of Christmas, done with both dignity and beauty.*

Fellowship Christmas cards fit definition 4. Moreover, by buying them you not only avoid contributing to the commercialization of Christmas, but you also contribute positively to the extension of the spirit of the season throughout the world. All proceeds go to the work of peace and reconciliation, here and abroad, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Order your cards today—samples sent on request.

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